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analysis of the social relations, have drawn the sphere of duties too narrow. Sociology shows there is in society a transmitted fund of knowledge and organization which individuals are able to take advantage of only in very unequal degrees. He argues that those who are in a position to utilize this social capital owe something to those debarred by circumstance from exploiting this capital. Furthermore, there are risks attending social progress as well as gains, and these risks should be compensated out of these gains and not borne by innocent individuals. Let us, says M. Bourgeois, mutualize that portion of our prosperity which is of social origin. Let us reduce those inequalities of condition which arise, not from the natural inequalities of men, but from the unequal distribution of the risks and advantages of social progress.

M. Bourgeois is neither communist nor collectivist. He believes in individual liberty and private property, but he would subject them to heavier ethical obligations than the old moral individualism has imposed. Only by acquitting his debt to society can one moralize his possessions. Only by recognizing the facts of solidarity and discharging the resulting obligations does one achieve a sphere of righteous liberty.

From his principle of mutualizing social capital and social risk our author deduces the justice of gratuitous state education, restriction of child labor, limitation of the hours of labor, workingmen's insurance, old-age pensions, progressive taxation, the social appropriation of surplus value, and the suppression of special privileges and monopolies. The favor these measures have won outside of the working class is largely due no doubt to the very considerations the French statesman has set forth so eloquently. When it is remembered that this statesman has helped to shape the new civic and moral teaching France imparts to her children, one will beware of belittling these "ideologies."

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A History of Factory Legislation. By B. L. HUTCHINS and A. HARRISON, B.A. (Lond.). With a Preface by SIDNEY WEBB. Westminster: P. S. King & Son, 1903. 8vo, pp. xviii+372.

THIS, the first adequate history of the English factory laws, is not merely a collection of facts; its intelligent presentation and interpre-

tation of details should enable the reader to understand as a whole, the growth, through a hundred years of that important body of laws. Indeed, it would be difficult to name another work which shows so well as this, in one concrete instance, the normal process by which a great body of legislation, on a particular subject, germinates and then matures through numerous slow accretions, as successive legislators, like Goethe's mule, "seeking his way in the fog," enact piecemeal, often with feigned purpose, what legislators and people would not venture to enact at a stroke, and with undisguised intent.

As to the most striking of these laws (those restricting the hours of labor), one must notice first of all the peculiarly British legislative habit of doing one thing while seeming to do another. The labor of adult men has been restricted successively under the pretext of defending pauper children (to whom the state owes protection), and later, under the pretense of a chivalric regard for feminine weakness. In all this the effect upon the working hours of men, ostensibly an incident, was in fact the main purpose; a bit of strategy has thus served well to combat the prejudice in favor of free contract. The "parliamentary and public ground" for supporting the ten-hour bill, we are told, was the "cruelty of employing young children for long hours," yet the chairman of the commission of 1833 declared that "not a single witness . . . supported it on the above grounds." A bill permitting the employment of two eight-hour shifts of children was opposed by the operatives in the same period, because it would facilitate the employment of men for sixteen hours. Lord Ashley's bill of 1837 was "shelved on the ground that Lord Ashley's concern for the children was not genuine, and that his real object was to restrict the labor of adults." When the protection of women came to serve as a pretext, there was wide recognition of the fact that it was only a pretext. As the reformers could not directly compel a limitation of work for the whole factory, "they turned their attention to the women and fought the battle 'behind the women's petticoats.'"

The fact is in this book once more made plain that this stealthy violation of the principle of "free contract" was scarcely an encroachment on the interests of the employers. Long hours resulted from competition rather than from the real interests of the individual employers. One great manufacturer abridged the noon-day rest, and "this abridgement was promptly adopted at other mills." In the forties "law-abiding manufacturers petitioned Parliament to be protected from the immoral competition of their rivals. In the fifties "a

large proportion of the masters were not averse to shortening the hours of work, if it could be done by common consent," and in 1853 certain employers in Scotland agreed to limit the hours of labor to sixty-six, but found that it was in the power of two or three masters to defeat such an agreement.

Macaulay's opinion that the evils of the factory system are old, that what is new is "the intelligence which discerns and the humanity which remedies them," is corroborated by Miss Harrison and Miss Hutchins, who have gathered some fragments of testimony strongly tending to show that the cruel excesses of child-labor had continued for generations before the great inventions and the advent of large factories, that "the factory system and machinery merely took what they found," and even that the factory system, by calling attention to these evils, by making them conspicuous, perhaps by exaggerating them to an intolerable degree, has prepared the way for their removal. It is significant in this connection to notice that the movement for reform repeatedly showed itself especially vigorous where the industrial revolution was most advanced, and most of all at Manchester, the much traduced.

This legislative work is at the present moment only half finished. What has been attempted has achieved as great a measure of success as one could reasonably expect, and its success is attested by the general acquiescence of the public and the frequently dramatic conversion of earlier opponents. But the legislator refuses to interfere with industrial liberty by a regulation of certain industries which seem exceptional or which have been neglected for no very evident reason. In particular the sweated home industries perpetuate the ancient evils which have been so nearly eradicated in factories and workshops, and our authors regard with some discouragement the fact that, whether from deference to arguments often discredited or from sheer inertia the public shows so little indication of a purpose to complete its work and these writers look for relief to the spread of information as to existing conditions, the growth of public intelligence, and a better appreciation of the fact that the general well being is threatened by the enfeeblement of any portion of the community. It seems reasonable to trust further—perhaps even more—to the growing intelligence and self-assertiveness of persons in the neglected trades. Society helps those who help themselves. The most abject members of a community are not those who excite the most active sympathy. The existing factory laws would scarcely have been enacted but for the activity of the fac-

tory workers, incited by the more enlightened among them. Similarly, an effective regulation of sweat-shops will most probably follow a vigorous movement on the part of the victims themselves, doubtless through unions. The theory that men should be left to sell their labor without interference by the state may be a bad theory; and it is certainly often rejected in legislative practice; but if rejected as to individuals, it still commonly prevails as to classes of work-people.

A. P. WINSTON.

Les grèves. By LEON DE SEILHAC. Paris: Victor Le Coffre, 1903. 8vo, pp. vii + 257.

M. DE SEILHAC'S work is not devoid of interest; it presents in fragmentary fashion a considerable array of facts and somewhat intelligent comment, which doubtless justify its publication as a contribution to the popular literature of the subject. An American reader will probably be interested most in the pages which present excellently (in strong contrast with what we know here) the French law of strikes and of workmen's combinations, as the law has been judicially interpreted and enforced. The method of the work as a whole is, however, purely narrative, and not at all analytic, and it can scarcely be said to offer anything substantially new or peculiarly valuable.

A. P. W.

Le paysan et la crise rurale: Notice sur la dépopulation des campagnes, ses causes, ses effets, et ses remèdes. By ACHILLE MAGNIER. Paris: Librairie des Publications officielles et du Bulletin des Lois, Georges Roustau, 1902. 12mo, pp. 141.

THE desertion of country-side for city by-ways, and the causes and social consequences of migration into urban communities, has fallen under the facile pen of M. Achille Magnier—poet, romancer, humanitarian, philosopher, and writer of prize essays for the *Société nationale d'encouragement au bien*. According to M. Magnier, the population problem in France resolves itself, in the last analysis, into the problem of rural depopulation. It is in agricultural sections that natural increase of population is most rapid, and the retardation of growth of the French population as a whole is explained as a direct consequence of the very general migration which has taken place out of the country into the city—a movement which has involved some 13 per cent. of the total French population, or approximately five millions of people, during the last fifty years. This is felt to be a serious condition by those who believe, as does M. Magnier, that the political future of